● 353 There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut
32 that could single out our surroundings for any particular date in the last few millennia, and almost nothing the nomads had not made themselves; either hanging from the lopped and fire-darkened stumps of branches jutting from the hut's timbers, neatly piled against the brushwood walls, or underfoot — guns, tools, choppers, adzes, spades, billhooks, cooking pots, saddles, harness, the tin frills around the icons, and among a pendant grove of dried and shaggy waterskins, a gleaming branchful of new horseshoes. Otherwise, all was hewn and carved wood or homespun from
[251] the backs of their flocks. Aloft, among the sooty twigs and the cobwebs, hung strings of onions, garlic, corncobs, and tobacco leaves. Higher still, the osier-bound reeds of the thatch all converged
123 symmetrically in the apex of the dome. An agreeable and pungent aroma of milk, curds, sweat, goat's hair, tobacco, and woodsmoke filled the place. The thorns on the fire crackled nearly smokelessly, and whenever a new fagot was thrown on, the flames made the tall hut dance in a brief gold concavity above a mob of shadows and lit up the bleached and matted hair and those faces shaped by the blasts of winter and the summer solstice. Their features glittered and flashed like the surfaces on a flint, and whenever my eyes met any of theirs, a smile of welcoming friendliness would answer back.

I had begun to grasp, in the past few weeks, one of the great and uncovenanted delights of Greece; in my case, it was a pre-coming-of-age present. This is a direct and immediate link, friendly and equal on either side, between human beings; something that cuts through barriers of hierarchy and background and money and, except for a few tribal and historic feuds, through politics and nationality as well. It is not a thing that functions in the teeth of convention, but in almost prelapsarian unawareness of its existence. Self-consciousness and awe and condescension (and their baleful remedy of forced egalitarianism) and the feudal hangover and the post-Fall-of-the-Bastille flicker — all the gloomy factors that lame and hobble and limit the range of life and deoxygenate the air of western Europe are absent. Existence, these glances say, is a torment, an enemy, an adventure, and a joke that we are in league to undergo, outwit, exploit, and

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Fig. 62

342 This low wall serves to ward off any danger of flooding by rainwater. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the Sarakatsani never forget to scoop out a drainage ditch all around the hut.

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Fig. 63

/95 cont./

233 [432] sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 353 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62). A A [513] Piled one on top of another all around the hut and covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A A [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 182 592 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

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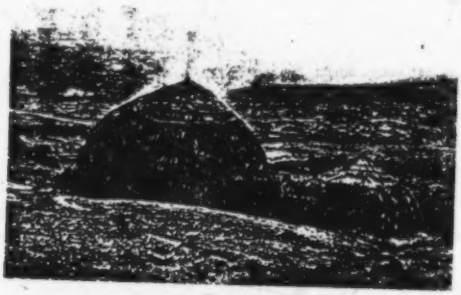

Fig. 76

513 [352] heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 353 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils and dishes can be set. (fig. 65). A

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

A. [Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "frétzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (514) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(514) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

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761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 795 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

791 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

(353) [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [594] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

791 796 474 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 103